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*revelatus* sive *transmigrans*, hæreticorum superbiam signans, hoc rebus locuti sunt quod nos verbis aperimus. Goliath quippe cum gladio, David vero cum pera pastoralis venit ad prælium. Sed eundem Goliath David superans, suo occidit gladio. Quod nos quoque agimus, qui promissi David membra ex ejus fieri dignatione meruimus: nam superbientes hæreticos et sacræ Scripturæ sententias deferentes, eisdem verbis atque sententiis quas proferunt vincimus.<sup>2</sup>

One of the chief intermediaries between the earlier and the later Middle Ages, so far as Biblical commentary went, was Walafrid Strabo. In his *Glossa Ordinaria* (*Patr. Lat.* 113. 536-7), which, according to the Benedictine authors of the *Histoire Littéraire de la France* (9. 21), represented to the twelfth century the complete understanding of Scripture, and from which, according to no less an authority than M. Samuel Berger, the greater part of the thirteenth century commentary on the French Bible is drawn (see Male, *L'Art Religieux en France au XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, p. 187), has the following: 'Goliath vero superbiam diaboli significat. . . . Christus diabolum de suis membris occidit quando crediderunt magi quos ille in manu habebat, et de quibus alios trucidabat, convertentes linguas suas contra diabolum, et sic Goliath gladio suo caput abscindunt.'

There was, therefore, no lack of means for making the clergy of the Middle Ages acquainted with the character attributed with general consistency to Goliath from the fourth century on. That the name and deeds of the giant were familiar throughout the mediæval period is indicated by Dante's allusions (*Mon.* 2. 10. 86-7 Moore; *Ep.* 7. 178-183); by Chaucer's (*Man of Law's Tale* 934)

O Goliath, unmesurable of length;

by the *Goliath* (*Goli*, *Goly*) of the *Cursor Mundi* (7443, 7553, 7575, 7577); and by the frequent use of the name to designate Saracen warriors in

the Carolingian epic.<sup>3</sup> The spelling *Goliath* is found as late as Shakespeare (*I Hen.* VI 1. 2. 33), side by side with *Goliath* (*M. W.* 5. 1. 23).

*Familia* is not an uncommon word in the Middle Ages to designate a monastic community. Thus Æthelbald of Mercia (A. D. 747) makes a gift (Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* 1. 116) 'Mildredæ religiosæ abbatissæ ejusque venerabili familiæ quæ una cum ea conversatur in insula Thænet' (similarly 1. 117). So Cynewulf of Mercia (1. 125) 'familiæ Christi in Maldubiensi monasterio constitutæ.' Cf. 1. 129, 182, 230. Oswald (963) makes a gift (2. 398) 'familiæ Wiogornensis ecclesiæ.' The corresponding term in Old English was *hired* (sometimes *hīwan*, plur.), Thus, Wulfstan 184. 26-7: 'æt ælcan tīdsange eal *hired* āpenedum limum ætforan Godes weofode singe pone sealm'; cf. *Cod. Dipl.* 2. 3 (line 36).

It would be desirable to ascertain with more certainty the date of the *Constitution* attributed by Mansi (*Conc.* 18. 324) to Gautier of Sens († 913): 'Statuimus quod clerici ribaldi, maxime qui dicuntur de familiæ Goliath,' etc. It is usually assumed that this date is much too early; but Chambers, *Med. Stage*, 1. 61, seems inclined to attach some weight to Mansi's attribution.

ALBERT S. COOK.

Yale University.

## VILLONIANA.

The facetious legacy in verse does not rank high in the list of even the minor genres: except Villon, one can hardly name an important poet who has made use of it.<sup>1</sup> The fact is the more

<sup>3</sup> Thus *Pèl. de Charl.* 424; *Charroi de Nîmes* 518; *Prise d'Orange* 346, etc.; *Aliscans* 3965, etc.; *Prise de Cordres* 1162; *Enfances Vivien* 510 (all ca. 1160-1200); then *Garin le Loherain* 625 (Tartar name); *Anseis de Carthage* 2480, etc.; *Henri de Metz* 8780; *Octavian* 1311, etc.; *Maugis d'Aigremont* 1766; etc., etc. I owe these references to the kindness of my colleague, Professor Frederick M. Warren.

<sup>1</sup> The list, however, includes Jean Bodel, Adam de la Halle, Jean de Meung, Eustache Deschamps, William Dunbar, with his *Testament of Andro Kennedy*, and Jean Regnier, author of the *Livre de la Prison*, printed in 1526.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Chrysostom, *Hom.* 38 on *First Corinthians* (on v. 3): 'Seest thou how nothing is weaker than error? And how it is taken by its own wings, and needs not the warfare from without, but by itself it is pierced through? Consider, for instance, these men, how they too have pierced themselves through by their own statements.'

remarkable that, using this insignificant form and drawing upon little else than his own life experience, François Villon should have been able to produce an imperishable work of art. His poems consist essentially in poignant thrusts, some witty, some humorous and most of them innocent enough, at friends, acquaintances and enemies. Add to these satiric hits the revelations of the inner life, brief but intense, of a semi-medieval townsman, fuse the words, verse and strophic form into an inseparable whole, and we have the *Lais* and the *Testament*.<sup>2</sup> In Villon's hands the facetious legacy rises to the dignity of vivid satire and interesting personal confession; and the whole is written in an individual and distinguished style.

To the series of *Congés* and *Testaments* written in verse before Villon and reviewed by G. Paris,<sup>3</sup> may be added a few others, but they serve only to strengthen the conviction that Maître François Villon, except in his versification, was independent of predecessors. Guillaume de Machaut, for example, had inserted a sort of Last Will in the *Voir Dit*.<sup>4</sup> *Je fis mon testament*, he tells us, *Et a ma dame l'envoïay*. It is in ballade form:

Mr. Samuel T. Pickard, literary executor of John Greenleaf Whittier, is authority for the statement that there exists among the Quaker poet's unpublished papers a "Last Will and Testament of a Man caught in a Bear-trap." While waiting for death a citizen of Amesbury is represented as disposing of his goods and chattels: in doing so he comments upon the character of the legatees in an amusing manner. (See a letter of William E. Curtis in the *Chicago Record-Herald*, Aug. 19, 1907.) As a curiosity, I mention the last will and testament (in prose) of Charles Lounsbury, who is said to have died in the insane asylum at Dunning, Illinois. After a formal preamble come the bequests, of which the following is a specimen: "Item, I leave to children inclusively, but only for the term of their childhood, all and every, the flowers of the fields, and the blossoms of the woods, with the right to play among them freely according to the customs of children, warning them at the same time against thistles and thorns. And I leave the children the long, long days to be merry in, in a thousand ways, and the night and the moon and the train of the milky way to wonder at, but subject nevertheless to the rights hereinafter given to lovers." Further details in *Charities and the Commons*, Vol. XVIII, p. 509.

<sup>2</sup>The old titles, *Petit Testament* and *Grand Testament*, should be discarded as without basis in tradition and contrary to the poet's own indications. (*Test.*, 78 and 755-8.)

<sup>3</sup>G. Paris, *François Villon*, 1901, p. 120 f.

<sup>4</sup>Ed. P. Paris, p. 25.

Pleurés, dames. . . .

Vestés vous de noir pour mi,  
Car j'ay cuer taint et viaire palli,  
Et si me voy de mort en aventure  
Se Dieus et vous ne me prenés en cure.

Mon cuer vous lais et met en vo commant,  
Et l'ame a Dieu devotement presente,  
Et voist ou doit aler le remenant;  
La char aus vers, car c'est leur droite rente  
Et l'avoirs soit departi  
Aus povres gens. . . .

The *Testament allégorique* of Charles of Orléans,<sup>5</sup> with whom Villon was in more or less intimate relations at one period, is also in ballade form and hardly more striking:

Puisque mort a prins ma maistresse  
Que sur toutes amer souloye,  
Mourir me convient en tristesse,  
Certes plus vivre ne pourroye.  
Pour ce, par deffaulte de joye,  
Tres malade, mon testament  
J'ay mis en escript doloieux  
Lequel je présente humblement  
Devant tous loyaulx amoureux.

The duke's bequests are few: he gives "mon esperit a la haultesse du Dieu d'Amours"; "la richesse des biens d'Amours" shall be divided among all 'vrais amans,' and finally,

Sans espargner or ne monnoye,  
Loyauté veult qu'enterré soye  
En sa chappelle grandement. . . .

The *Testament* of Eustache Deschamps,<sup>6</sup> overlooked accidentally by G. Paris, is much more elaborate. The *Autres Lettres Envoyées par Eustache luy estant malade et la manière de son Testament par Esbatement* form a poem of 104 lines in octosyllabic couplets. Some of his many bequests resemble those of Villon, but hardly enough to prove a connection.

## II.

The following observations bear upon matters of interpretation and text readings. The references are to Von Wurzbach's text, 1903.

*Test.* 117, *viel en viellesse*. Both the sense and the original in Jean de Meung's *Codicille* call for

<sup>5</sup>Ed. Champollion-Figeac, 1842, p. 149.

<sup>6</sup>*Oeuvres complètes*, VIII, 29-32. See also Hoeffner's *Eustache Deschamps*, pp. 52 and 184, n. 4.

*meur en viellesse*. The mistake can hardly be Villon's.

*Test.* 129 f. The Diomedes episode is the longest piece of pure narrative in Villon, and is otherwise of more than ordinary interest as being a veritable *apologia pro vita sua*. It has escaped notice that Villon's verses contain more than one verbal reminiscence of the Latin original, the *Polycraticus* of John of Salisbury. I reprint parts of the original passage, from the text in Migne, cxcix :

In Græcia quis major aut clarior Alexandro ?  
Eidem quoque eleganter et vere comprehensus  
pirata scribitur respondisse. Cum enim Alexander  
interrogaret, quid ei videretur quod mare  
haberet infestum, ille libera contumacia, "Quid  
tibi, inquit, ut tu orbem terrarum ? Sed quia id  
ego uno navigio facio, latro vocor ; quia tu magna  
classe, disceris imperator. Si solus, et captus sit  
Alexander, latro erit. Si ad nutum Dionidi (*sic*)  
populi famulentur, erit Dionides imperator. . .  
*Me fortunæ iniquitas, et rei familiaris angustia, te  
fastus intolerabilis et inexplēbilis avaritia, furem  
facit. Si fortuna mansuesceret, fierem forte melior.  
At tu quo fortunatior, eo nequior eris.*"

MIRATUS ALEXANDER constantiam hominis  
eum merito ARGUENTIS, "Experiar, inquit, an  
futurus sis melior, FORTUNAMQUE MUTABO, ut  
non ei a modo deliqueris, sed tuis moribus as-  
cribatur."

Eum itaque jussit conscribi militiæ, ut posset  
exinde SALVIS LEGIBUS militare.

Cp. *Test.*, xx :

Quant l'empereur ot remiré  
De Diomedès tout le dit ;  
"Ta fortune je te mueray,  
Mauvaise en bonne" si luy dit.  
Ce fist il. Onc puis ne mesit  
A personne. . .

XXI :

Se Dieu m'eust donné rencontrer  
Ung autre piteux Alixandre  
Qui m'eust fait en boneur entrer. . .  
Necessité fait gens mesprendre  
Et faim saillir le loup du bois.

Villon, characteristically, was ever ready to ascribe his sufferings to the persecutions of Fortune (cp. *PD.* 380, 442, 459 ff.), and the passages in

italics no doubt struck his attention as marvelously fitting his own pitiable case.

*Test.* 339, *Esbaillart*. The interchange of prefix is easily paralleled from Langlois' *Table des Noms propres*: *Acopert—Escopert, Apolice—Espolice*, etc. The Latin forms are *Abælardus*, *Abaiælardus*, the latter occurring in the Latin poems attributed to Walter Map (ed. Wright, p. 28). In this connection I add an interesting suggestion of Dr. C. J. Cipriani, that *Abaëlard* may possibly be a compound of the Welsh *Ap* or *Ab* with the Germanic *Adalhard*. There is no phonetic objection to this etymology, and, as Dr. Cipriani points out, other instances of Germanic names with the Celtic word prefixed are not unknown.

*Test.* 355, *remainne*. As far as morphology goes, the word is susceptible of different interpretations. Paris rejected Longnon's idea (from *remanoir*) without however explaining his own. From *PD.*, 35 and 267, *remainne* would seem to be *Sbj.* Ps. 1 of *remener*, in the sense of 'quote, quote again, reiterate.'

*Test.* 448, *emprunter elles*. *Elles* may possibly not be reflexive (Longnon), but may represent *ilz*, i. e., *famelettes*, while *emprunter* is 'borrow,' in the sense of 'imitate, follow in the footsteps of.' Cp. Montaigne I, ch. xxv : *Il sondera la portée d'un chacun : un bœuvier, un masson, un passant, il fault . . . emprunter chacun selon sa marchandise*.

*Test.* 636. A Cerberus with four heads is, I believe, unique. From medieval sources Prof. Bloomfield<sup>7</sup> might have gathered many other curious additions to his interesting review of the transformations of the Dog of Hades.<sup>8</sup>

*Test.* 670, *fol s'y fia*. Editors of the text should

<sup>7</sup> Cerberus, the Dog of Hades. The History of an Idea, by Maurice Bloomfield, Chicago, 1905.

<sup>8</sup> To Jean de Meung, *Roman de la Rose*, 20737 ff., Cerberus is "*Cis mastins*," who hangs to the three breasts of Atropos; to the author of the *Chanson d'Antioche* (II, p. 129) he is a devil and a workman (*manouvrier*) who builds a tower; to Guillaume de Machaut he is one of the four "*roys d'enfer*" along with Pluto, Florin and Lucifer. Eustache Deschamps tells us that Cerberus, "*dieu d'enfer*," was seen in his time carried about in effigy :

Au monde voit on porter Cerberus  
O ses .iii. chiefs. . . *Oeuvres*, I, p. 251.

refer to Tobler's *Beiträge*, I, 2, p. 217, and to Keidel, *Modern Language Notes*, x, col. 146 f.

*Test.* 685, *elle* may possibly mean 'elbow,' as in Gringore, *Soties* (ed. Picot, II, p. 35) : *Sus ! Qui est ce qui se frotte en mon elle ?*

*Test.* 752. It is possible that in this passage the Lord is cited as hating the Lombards not, as commonly, because they are tricky merchants, usurers or misers, but as heretics.

*Test.* 852, *levé de maillon* 'baptized in swaddling clothes'; *lever* in the sense 'to hold at the baptismal font' in Deschamps, I, p. 147. Cp. also *levare de sacro fonte*, quoted by Diez, *Dict.*, I, p. 12, s. v. *allevare*.

*Test.* 952. This unintelligible line may be emended by reading *sachier* (†) while *fait* may be taken in the sense of 'business, affair,' as in *Test.* 665, 667, 1087.

*Test.* 1126 ff. The two strophes are obscure. Von Wurzbach's note only adds to the confusion. The expressions *Prins à mastins* (1130) and *prins à* [so AFI] *un piège* (1138) are plainly in opposition. Apparently, one duty of the archers was to hunt and kill wolves, which we know were troublesome in winter in the vicinity of Paris. Possibly a bounty was paid for their heads (*hures*), hence the desirability of the bequest. Villon, whether in jest or not, says that wolves' heads (brains ?) make a delicate morsel. As food it is light, and would make good provisions for campaigning. If the butchers' dogs prove useless as hunters, and traps are resorted to, then (as the skins would be whole, not torn) Villon, who is a good judge of pelts, directs that they be made into fur garments for the archers in winter. Labouche, *Les Arts et Métiers*, 1884, tells us : Les bouchers ont longtemps nourri de gros chiens qui voituraient la viande sur de petites charrettes de l'abattoir aux boucheries.<sup>9</sup>

As parallels to the double protasis<sup>10</sup> in lines 1138-9 may be cited from Chrétien, *Charrette* 3659 :

<sup>9</sup> These *mastins*, *vieux chiens de boucherie*, are also mentioned in the Legend of Pierre Faifeu, p. 39. See also an illustration, *Piège pour prendre Loups*, fifteenth century, in Lacroix, *Mœurs, Usages et Costumes au Moyen Âge*, 1873, p. 208.

<sup>10</sup> Cp. also Lücking, *Grammatik*, § 562.

se il la savoit

A la fenestre ou ele estoit,  
Qu'ele l'esgardast ne vëist,  
Force et hardement en prëist.

and from Wace, *Rou* 6261 :

Et se je fail a mon dreit prendre,  
Qu'Engleis se pöissent defendre,  
Ja n'i perdrai mais que la teste.

*Test.* 1287, *Ave salus, Tibi decus*. The second of these two snatches of ecclesiastical Latin may be a garbled reminiscence of the vesper hymn *Tibi, Christe, dux et decus, | Certa spes fidelium* (Chevalier, No. 20446). Two hymns (Nos. 2094, 2095) begin with the words *Ave, salus*. . .

*Test.* 1398 ff. *semer (graine) dans un champ*, in the sense understood here by Longnon, is indeed a common figure of speech, and as old at least as Plato's *Timæus*. Nevertheless, it is not impossible that Villon may have used it here in the sense of 'devote attention to' a person or thing, a meaning for which there is ample precedent in the Parable of the Sower. Thus Rutebeuf, *Complainte du Conte de Nevers*, 91 ff. :

Lasus els cieus fet bon semer ;  
N'estuet pas la terre femer  
Ne ne s'i puet repestre oisiaus. . .

Besides, the reading *quant le fruit me ressemble* has poor support : IF have *le fait*, and the meaning may be, 'seeing that the occupation (of devoting attention to you) is to my liking.' Moreover, Longnon's idea tends to remove the ballade from the time of Robert d'Estouteville's courtship where, from its general tone, it seems to me to most fittingly belong.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> I add the passages from Jean de Roye relating to Ambroise de Loré :

I, 12 : Et lors, par maistre Jean Avin, conseiller lay en la court de Parlement, furent fais plusieurs exploits en l'hostel dudit d'Estouteville comme de chercher boistes, coffres et autres lieux pour savoir si on y trouveroit nulles lettres : et fist plusieurs rudesses oudit hostel a dame Ambroise de Loré, femme dudit d'Estouteville, qui estoit moult sage, noble et honneste dame. Dieu de ses exploits le veuille punir. . .

I, 201 (at her death, 5 mai 1468) : et fu fort plainte pour ce qu'elle estoit noble dame, bonne et honneste, et en l'hostel de laquelle toutes nobles et honnestes personnes estoient honorablement receuz. (Ed. Mandrot, 1894.)

Test. 1486. *n'acoutassent*, to which G. Paris objected, seems intended to reproduce the *froyée* of the original *Dit de Franc Gontier*, I, 7 (text by Piaget) :

Soubz feuille vert, sur herbe delitable  
Lez ru bruiant et prez clere fontaine,  
Trouvay fichée une borde portable.  
Ilec mengeoit Gontier o dame Helayne  
5 Fromage fraiz, lait, burre, fromagée,  
Craime, matton, pomme, nois, prune, poire,  
Aulx et oignons, escaillongne froyée  
Sur crouste bise, au gros sel, pour mieulx boire.

Test. 1662. *doivent estre retrouvez* may be taken as equivalent to *seront retrouvez*, 'they will be found assembled, very naturally, at the house of Marion l'Ydolle,' as foreshadowed in ll. 1628 ff. Grammatically, the phrase seems analogous to the case of omission of the pronoun in compound tenses of reflexive verbs (Tobler, *Beiträge*, II, p. 57).

Test. 1741, *de ce prest estre*. This confusion of *prêt* and *près*, due to phonetic causes, is well known. Haase, *Syntaxe*, 112, 3 ; etc.

Test. 1861, *aller de mort a vie*. G. Paris remarked : Entendez naturellement *de vie à mort*. Ce genre de plaisanterie charmait Rabelais qui en fait un fréquent usage. Rabelais, it is true, would "kill a comb for a tailor" (I, xxxiii), but Villon's expression may possibly be a souvenir of the church formula "from death unto life (eternal)." Speaking of the Gospel according to John, the author of the Old French *Eructavit* says :

N'i a celui qui miauz vos die  
Comant Deus vint de mort a vie.

ll. 1025-6.

And elsewhere, speaking of Christ :

La biautez qui an vos sera  
Quant vos vandroiz de mort a vie.

ll. 453-4.

Similarly, *Miracles de Notre Dame*, II, p. 5 : *Par son chier filz sommes appellé de mort a vie*.

### III.

PD. 267-8 :

A ce propos un dit remaine :  
De saige mere saige enfant.

A prominent characteristic of Villon's style is his habit of closing his huitains with an observation of general application, often a current saying,

maxim or proverb.<sup>12</sup> About forty strophes end in this manner in a total of upwards of two hundred. Is this habit an isolated peculiarity, or may it indicate the poet's connection with the traditions of some literary group? To summarize some results obtained from an examination of contemporary verse, made with the assistance of some of my pupils, it is convenient to distinguish several cases :

I. The author makes an original reflection of a general character, or is reminded of a current saying, and inserts it in the body of his strophe, or at the end, without particular intention.

II. The author habitually places a general remark at the end of the strophe, often using proverbs for the purpose, so that the practice amounts to a peculiarity of style. Villon may be classed here.

III. The author intentionally ends every strophe with a proverb, which a) resumes the strophe, or b) to which the strophe is only an introduction and explanation. Examples : of a) *Complainte* V of Charles of Orléans ; of b) *Li Proverbe au Vilain*, ed. Tobler, 1895.

IV. The author composes strophes entirely of proverbs. Examples are Villon's *Ballade des Proverbes*, the *Mimes* of Bâif, etc.

Alain Chartier and Charles of Orléans are very sparing in their use of proverbs, either in mid-strophe, or at the end. Out of almost a thousand strophes, mostly huitains, some fifty instances might be cited. Besides the *Complainte* just mentioned, Charles of Orléans composed a *Rondel* entirely of proverbs :

Comme j'oy que chascun devise,  
On n'est pas tousiours a sa guise,  
Beau chanter si ennuie bien,  
Jeu qui trop dure ne vault rien,  
Tant va le pot a l'eau qu'il brise. Etc.

In seventeen *Soties* in Picot's collection, although the editor prepares us for a different result, examination reveals no more than about a score in a total of over 7,500 verses. In Greban's *Mystère de la Passion*, aside from a speech of Lazarus thrown exceptionally into strophic form, there seem to be not over a dozen sententious

<sup>12</sup> Sébillot's article on Villon's proverbs (*Revue des Traditions populaires*, III, 463) is unimportant.

remarks, much less common proverbs. The speech of Lazarus<sup>13</sup> is in nine septains, each ending with a moral remark of general application. In the Picot-Nyrop collection, in some 3,000 lines, there occur but eight proverbs, and about the same number of general maxims, evidently original for the most part.

Turning to popular verse not in dramatic form, the number of strophes where the proverb-end is a common or constant feature, increases suddenly. At least ten poems in the first nine volumes of the Montaiglon-Rothschild collection will fall under class II. They are: *Doctrinal des nouveaux Mariés* (i. 131); *Débat de Nature et Jeunesse* (iii, 84); *Ny trop tost ni trop tard Marié* (iii, 129); *Débat de la Dame et de l'Escuyer* (iv, 151); *Testament de Monseigneur des Barres* (vi, 102); *Débat de l'homme et de l'Argent* (vii, 302); *Réformation des Dames de Paris* (viii, 244); *L'Amant rendu au Couvent de Tristesse* (ix, 321); *Regrets de Picardie* (ix, 297); *Le grant Jubilé de Millan* (ix, 337). In all, a total of some 332 strophes, of which 40 end in what may be called proverbs.

Popular poems of the type of class III are very numerous at the period in question. The list examined includes the following: *La Danse Macabré des Hommes et des Femmes* (Collection Sylvestre); G. Coquillart, *Complainte d'Echo*; *Dict des Bestes et des Oyseaux* (M-R, i, 256); *Les Neuf Preux de Gourmandise* (ii, 38); *La Folye des Angloys* (ii, 253); *Les Loix de Mariage* and Sequel to same (iii, 168); *Le Songe Doré de la Pucelle* (iii, 204); *Le Débat du Jeune et du Vieulx Amoureux* (vii, 211); R. Gaguin's *Passetemps de l'Oisiveté* (vii, 225); *La Complainte de Venise* (v, 120), and three poems from Le Roux's *Recueil de Chants historiques*: a *Ballade envoyée par les Anglois*, the *Ballade de Fougères*, and the *Chanson contre Hugues Aubriot*. In a total of 715 strophes, 659 end in proverbs and maxims.

The general result, therefore, is to emphasize Villon's indifference to the aristocratic literature of the period, and his close affiliation with the bourgeois muse. As Paris said, he was not merely a *poète de ville*, but a *poète de quartier*. Yet, although his circle was narrow, he was far

above the common rhymesters whose excessive use of proverbs condemns their work to hopeless commonplace and the exclusion of what is personal and distinguished.

Villon's use of proverbs is also additional evidence that he was not greatly influenced by the learned world, then much addicted to dealing in quotable wisdom. Once (PD. 259) he cites in Latin a phrase from the "*escripture de Caton*," but with this exception his proverbs are from popular rather than learned sources.

Evidently the practice of placing a proverb in the culminating line of a strophe of fixed form is instructive as reflecting in a measure the intellectual range of the fifteenth century bourgeoisie. But the tendency itself is much older, and seems inherent to some extent in the strophe of fixed form. Thus De Gramont<sup>14</sup> says, apropos of the sonnet: "Il est indispensable que le dernier vers, celui qui achève le sentiment ou le tableau, fasse réellement conclusion par quelque chose d'heureux ou de frappant, soit dans l'idée soit dans l'expression, *ni plus ni moins d'ailleurs que ne doit faire le vers terminal d'une simple strophe*." So in the *Romans de Carité et de Miserere*, observes Van Hamel,<sup>15</sup> "le poète annonce son idée dans les trois premiers vers: ensuite il la développe dans les six vers (4-9) et enfin il la résume ou il en tire une conclusion dans les trois vers de la fin." In the 515 strophes of these two poems, some 23 may fall under our class II. In Helinand's *Vers de la Mort* the tendency is much more marked, for out of the 50 strophes 12 end with proverbs or generalizations. The tendency becomes rare when we emerge into the "spacious" air of the Renaissance.<sup>16</sup> The epigrams of Marot, for example, are nearly all in strophes of fixed form (sixains, huitains, dizains, etc.), yet there seem to be no cases which would fall under our classes II and III.

Finally, there existed in Villon's day another obvious incentive to reserve the last line of the strophe for an epigrammatic phrase, maxim or saying that would bear repetition: the refrain of the ballade. In the fourteenth century, when

<sup>14</sup> *Les Vers français et leur Prosodie*, p. 253.

<sup>15</sup> Introduction, p. xcv.

<sup>16</sup> This statement, of course, does not apply to the Senecan tragedy, not in strophic form.

<sup>13</sup> Lines 15, 794 ff.

lyric poetry was turned in the didactic direction, the refrain also becomes tinged with didacticism. The bourgeois *puys* often gave out for competition quotable verses embodying a general truth. The ballade refrains of Deschamps are frequently maxims or proverbs: those of Charles of Orléans and the authors of the *Livre de Cent Ballades* are comparatively free from the tendency. The extent to which this motive influenced Villon may be judged from the fact that one-fourth of his twenty-eight ballade refrains are sayings or current phrases.

T. ATKINSON JENKINS.

University of Chicago.

## CHAUCERIANA. I.

### THE DATE OF *The Clerk's Tale*.

Certain English Chaucerian scholars date *The Clerk's Tale* immediately after Chaucer's first journey to Italy; a conjecture which partly rests on the supposition that he was personally indebted for the story of Griselda to Petrarch, at a meeting of the two poets, which has been accepted as very probable by many Chaucer and Petrarch students.<sup>1</sup> Dr. J. S. P. Tatlock, in a well sustained argument against the whole of this theory, suggests that while there is no evidence for such a meeting, and no need of it in order to account for Chaucer's obtaining the Latin version, as "considering the reputation both of the *Decameron* and of Petrarch, MSS. of his cultivated Latinization of its last tale are likely to have been speedily multiplied." As evidence of the early and wide-spread acquaintance with Petrarch's version, he calls attention to the version found in the *Menagier de Paris*, which was probably written 1392-4.<sup>2</sup> Quite as apposite to the matter in question, is the French dramati-

zation of Petrarch's version, found in a fifteenth century manuscript of the Bibliothèque nationale, f. fr. 2203, in which the date of the work is given as 1395.<sup>3</sup> A version of a slightly later date in twelve line strophes, by a Lombard "Franchois Pietat" has been printed from a fifteenth century Bodleian Manuscript, Douce 99.<sup>4</sup> Two Dutch versions were written about 1400<sup>5</sup>; an analysis of it appears in a Spanish moral treatise, which is to be assigned to the same date,<sup>6</sup> as well as the translation into Catalan by Bernart Metge.<sup>7</sup>

Some of Petrarch's other Latin works had an equal fortune in being translated into other languages than Italian at an early date. If the main body of the *Res memorandae* was written in 1344,<sup>8</sup> it was still unfinished when Petrarch died in 1374<sup>9</sup>; and as late as July 13, 1379, Coluccio Salutati, who was in close touch with the executors of the poet, asks for a copy in a letter written in regard to a copy of another uncompleted work, *De Viris*.<sup>10</sup> Yet in 1393<sup>11</sup> Gower introduced into his second version of the *Confessio Amantis*<sup>12</sup> the story of Dante and the court sycophant, which Petrarch

<sup>1</sup> H. Groeneveld, *Die älteste Bearbeitungen der Griseldissage in Frankreich*, Marburg, 1886, Aug. u. Abhl. LXXIX, v-vi, xxxvi-xxxvii; cf. Petit de Julleville, *Les mystères*, I, 180, II, 342. This manuscript was already noted by Pichon, *Menagier de Paris*, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> R. Hofmeister, in *Festschrift des Königl. Realgymnasiums zu Erfurt*, 1894, No. 8, p. 1; cf. Groeneveld, *l. c.* xxx, xxxi. On a later fifteenth century metrical version cf. R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, II, 519.

<sup>3</sup> J. Bolte, in Köhler, *l. c.* 511.

<sup>4</sup> H. Knust, *Jahrb. f. rom. u. engl. Lit.*, x, 36; Köhler, *l. c.*, II, 511; A. Farinelli, *Giorn. storico della lett. ital.*, XLIV, 316; C. B. Bourland, *Revue hispanique*, XII, 168-171.

<sup>5</sup> Wannenmacher, *Die Griseldissage*, 1904, 103; Morel-Fatio, Gröber's *Grundriss*, II, 3, 109, 125; Farinelli, *l. c.* 312, 315; Bourland, *l. c.*, 211-213. Like Chaucer, Metge speaks with devotion of Petrarch, and does not mention Boccaccio, from whose *Corbaccio*, however, he filched the whole of the tirade against women of his "Tiresias." Farinelli, *l. c.*, 312.

<sup>6</sup> Gaspary, *Gesch. der ital. Lit.*, I, 436; Kirner, *Giorn. stor.*, XVI, 409; cf. de Nolhac, *Not. et Extr.*, XXXIV, 1, 109, 113.

<sup>7</sup> Vita of Pietro da Castelletto, in Solerti, *Le vite di Dante, del P. e del Bocca.*, 272; Gaspary, I, 436.

<sup>8</sup> Novati, *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, I, 330-1.

<sup>9</sup> On date, cf. *Works of Gower*, ed. Macaulay, I, xxxiii, cxxxiv; H. Spies, *Engl. Stud.*, XXXII, 258.

<sup>10</sup> *Conf. am.* 2359\* ff. 13: cf. Tatlock, *l. c.*, 221, n. 3.

<sup>1</sup> To Tatlock's bibliography add Belleza, *Giorn. stor.*, XLII, 460, for a note on the Italian supporters of the thesis.

<sup>2</sup> *The Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*, 1907, 156; cf. 161 n. (Cf. a different version found in MS. Bibl. nat. 7387 (Pichon, *Menagier de Paris*, I, 99), which may be the same as that found in some imprints. R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*. II. 509-510).